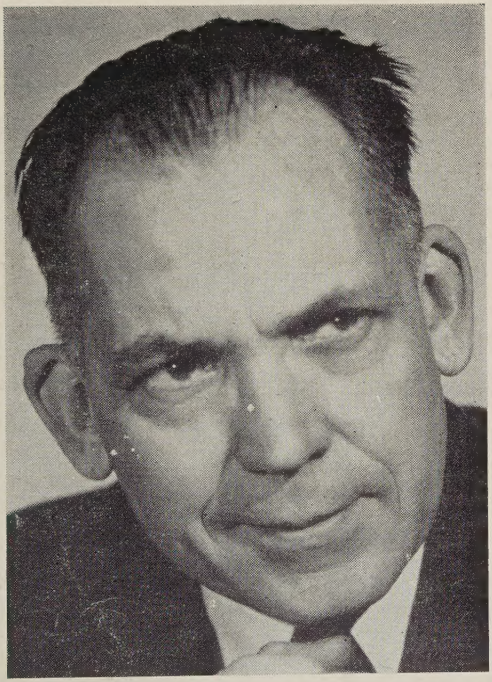
November 1956

Fellowship



VERNON NASH *Humorologist*

HOLBROOK LIBR
PACIFIC SCHO

30¢

The South In Ferment

Three Articles

contents

- **The World in Focus** 1
- **The Decline of Politics**—Reprinted from MANAS 3
  On the eve of the election, some sobering thoughts are in order for the long-range prospects of political morality.
- **The Serious Business of Humor**—Vernon Nash 7
  The barb of wit is a legitimate and effective weapon in the arsenal of nonviolence.
- **THE SOUTH IN FERMENT**
  - **South By East**—Alfred Hassler 14
    A Southern editor uses his pen to puncture the pomposities of white supremacy.
  - **Report from Sturgis**—Robert L. Cannon 16
    Observations from the scene of a Southern trouble spot by the FOR's busy Mid-South Regional Secretary.
- **The Bad Year and the Eye of Faith**—Margaret C. McCulloch 19
  A Memphis woman sees hope amidst the crisis in race relations.
- **News** 24
- **Books** 29
- COVER PHOTO—Vernon Nash (see page 7)

FELLOWSHIP

ALFRED HASSLER, Editor — WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Asst. Editor

Editorial Contributors

Vera Brittain, Marguerite Harmon Bro, Allan Knight Chalmers, Bernard C. Clausen, Sarah N. Cleghorn, Florence Converse, Henry H. Crane, Albert Edward Day, Eugene Exman, Caleb Foote, Albert Fowler, Richard B. Gregg, Wallace Hamilton, John Haynes Holmes, Allan A. Hunter, Josephine W. Johnson, Muriel Lester, Halford E. Luccock, Milton Mayer, Alfred D. Moore, Ferner Nuhn, Kirby Page, Edith Lovejoy Pierce, Douglas V. Steere, John M. Swomley, Jr., Howard Thurman

Member, Associated Church Press

FELLOWSHIP *is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.*

Fellowship Published by the **Fellowship of Reconciliation**
21 Audubon Ave., New York 32, N. Y.

JOHN. M. SWOMLEY, JR. Secretary — A. J. MUSTE Secretary-Emeritus — GLENN E. SMILEY Field Secretary

30 Cents a Copy
$3 a Year

Fellowship
The WORLD in FOCUS
VOLUME 22, NUMBER 10 ■ NOVEMBER 1956

Postscript

Files and indexes are not always everything one could wish in a magazine with as small a staff as FELLOWSHIP has always had. This probably accounts for the fact that only when we looked at the back cover of the October issue, with its reproduction of the very first issue of FELLOWSHIP, did we realize we had overlooked a bit of added documentation for "The Anatomy of a Smear."

For that issue—March, 1935—featured an article by Kirby Page, then the FOR's vice-chairman, called "The United Front." In view of the Dilworth Committee's references to both FOR and Kirby Page, some excerpts from that article may prove interesting:

> "Effective cooperation is not possible [the article begins] between resolute pacifists who are seeking social change through non-warlike means and communists who are committed to the strategy of arming the workers, at a propitious moment, and seizing power by military weapons. . . .
>
> "At its last meeting, held at Union Seminary February 9th, the National Council of the FOR adopted the policy of refraining from affiliating with communistic, fascistic or other groups sanctioning or advocating the armed seizure of power. For this reason it declined to align itself with the League Against War and Fascism. . . . It is understood that local groups of the Fellowship will not enter into cooperation with the League Against War and Fascism or other groups dominated by communists or communistic agencies without express approval from the Executive Committee."

Heroes

Elsewhere in this issue Margaret McCulloch, longtime stalwart in the area of racial brotherhood, tells of signs of hope in the South. The most inspiring sign of all, though, to our way of thinking, is the repeated experience of seeing heroism bloom out of what would seem to be the most unlikely ground. Those for whom the meanness and viciousness exhibited by some whites in the current struggle are a discouraging commentary on human nature need to look at this more reassuring sight. The quiet, unbitter but quite undefeatable courage of one Negro after another in the face of insult and terror, is reason to be proud to be part of the same human family.

And it ought to be remembered that Negroes are not inherently superior to whites: the heights to which they have risen are attainable by all men, of whatever color or race!

Note on H-Bombs

Pacifists of course were delighted to have the proposal to ban H-bomb tests brought up during the political campaign just concluded. Any move that questions the inevitability of military might is a good one. But what was discouraging was the insistence of the supporters of such a move that there would be, and should be, no possible risk involved. We have enough H-bombs now to blow up the world, they said, and we could continue to stockpile more. And if the Russians violated the agreement, we could run off more tests within eight short weeks.

From here the next step is to the political campaigner who will observe that there will be no hope for peace without risks, and that if it is immoral to use the H-bomb, then moral men will not use the H-bomb, regardless of what the Russians do. It is this kind of forthright assertion of a new political morality that would send a real thrill of hope around the world. Until then, we must be glad for such limited blessings as the realization that these subjects may be discussed in public, and need not be left entirely to the oracular judgment a few less-than-omniscient mortals who work in Washington.

The Decline of POLITICS

BY THE EDITORS OF MANAS

THE PRACTICAL END of all politics is power, so that the man who labors in a political cause ought to be reasonably confident of what he will do with the power, once he obtains it. It is this obligation which slows the editors of MANAS down to practically a dead stop when an invitation arrives in the mail to become interested in a major political movement, such as socialism. We vote, of course, and try to execute a measure of our responsibilities as citizens. We are aware further, of the slow process of collectivization which has been taking place in the United States during the past fifty years or more. This collectivization is not, however, ideological, nor even especially political. One has only to read Seba Eldridge's *Development of Collective Enterprise* (University of Kansas Press, 1943) to realize that this trend has been a natural response to the needs of a technological society, expressed, as Eldridge puts it, "in the pressure of consumer and general public interests, not in pressures applied by labor groups."

At present, the major force in the direction of collectivization is the harnessing of the nation's productive plant for military purposes, and this is hardly an "ideological" influence. It is political only in the fact that military organization is totalitarian, and since the gearing of the civilian economy to the requirements of military armament must eventually transform the civilian economy into an obedient servant of military authority, there seems little point in talking about politics or significant political changes until some credible solution for the problem of war has been worked out.

There remains what may be called "pacifist politics" to be con-

sidered. This is a revolutionary position. So far as we can see, it is the only *rational* political position that can be assumed. Yet the concept of power in relation to pacifist politics remains obscure. If it be argued that the pacifist politician will reply upon *moral* force to gain his ends, it seems to us that he will either have to be a fantastic spellbinder—and this, after all, is not a very sound basis for political power—or he will have to wait until he has strong support from people who share his ideals and objectives. But if he is to wait that long, he does not have a political program at all, but an educational program. By the time the educational objectives he works for are reached, the political issues of the time will probably be radically transformed—beyond, at least, our capacity to imagine them. So why talk about politics? Politics, that is, as the means to power.

What Are the Alternatives?

The next question to be discussed is: Well, what will you *do*? The trouble with this question is its assumption that if you are not active in politics, you are not doing *anything*, and that the obvious frustrations to which a political career or interest is likely to lead make a splendid excuse for them not to do anything. The worst thing about the assumption that only political activity is "doing something" is the bad consciences it produces. Take for example the relative infiltration of Hollywood by Communist sympathizers. A writer for the films makes—or used to make—a lot of money. It takes a flexible, fairly sensitive intelligence to write dialogue that people enjoy, and writers with flexible, sensitive intelligence are likely to feel "guilty" when they make a lot of money by using their brains. So they gave contributions to the Party to buy off their consciences. It was nice to make the money and to enjoy the luxuries of a "corrupt" capitalist civilization; and nice, too, to do one's bit for the masses by giving money for a "revolutionary" cause. You may think the logic a bit curious, but the assumption that only "political action" is "doing something" made the logic seem sound.

The dream of a social order based upon cooperation and sharing may be a possibility, but exploiting mass audiences at the Hollywood level of communication in order to get the money to support a political apparatus dedicated to a nihilistic attack on the already weakened mechanisms of self-government is not the way to bring it about.

But we can't get off so easily. No man has a right to shut his mind to political movements unless he has soaked for a considerable period in the moving idealism of political idealists and revolutionaries of the past. In the days of Gene Debs, it was possible for an honest man to believe that he would know what to do with power, once he got it. And it was possible for other men to believe in him and to support him in good faith. The Socialist movement in the United States was wrecked by the first World War. So was the Socialist movement in France. Socialism in those years became ambivalent, unable to choose between nationalism and internationalism. World War II produced a similar dilemma, only this time the decision was simpler—between reluctant but "righteous" war, and eager but politically impotent paci-

fism. It was the idealism of the socialists which weakened and destroyed them as a political entity with a claim to attention in political terms. It is to their credit, perhaps, that they could not operate according to the rules of *Realpolitik* in the twentieth century.

We should add that we do not speak of the political impotence of the pacifist socialists of the present to dispose of them with a cavalier gesture. To be politically impotent at a time when politics itself is morally impotent is to be in harmony with the needs of the times. This idealism will have to find new channels of expression. Meanwhile these young men and women are calling themselves "socialists."

It is a pretty dreadful thing to watch all the old avenues of humanitarian endeavor seal themselves off into dead ends. Other young men who might have joined the Socialist movement twenty or thirty years ago are now shipping off to Paraguay and Primavera to join the Bruderhof, or are wondering if Vinoba has a place for them in the ranks of the Sarvodayists. The career of a civil liberties lawyer holds some attractions, as a way of fighting the "good fight," and then there are the various cooperative communities started by young couples who dream of a life, if not on a clean frontier, at least in the interstices of our acquisitive society, where elements of a constructive relationship with nature and other human beings may be restored. These outlets, however, are not easy to find, and they demand an exceptional temper of the people who use them.

There must be many ways to describe this predicament, but one that seems effective is to say that there is no longer a widely acknowledged institutional solution for the troubles of mankind, to which men of good will can apply their energies. In other words, social morality, which for several generations has seemed to be the only kind of morality worth having or talking about, has lost its overt channels of expression and now appears to have only *subjective* forms. Gandhi has had a lot to do with this change—Gandhi, and the failure of various political programs.

The politician, even the "idealist" politician, of the past was usually willing to use truth as a weapon and would embrace principles so long as he could win with them. But the weapon that was effective often became his "truth," and he often lost interest in the principle which could bring no victory.

Gandhi took an opposite view. Truth, for him, was both end and means, and the principle *was* the victory. Only as the principle was embodied in practice could the victory become real. Gandhi stood ready to throw away every apparent victory which lost its principle before the struggle was over.

This is revolutionary politics, and the gears of revolutionary politics nowhere mesh with the gears of the old politics.

Hitler saw this very clearly. After he occupied a country, the first thing he did was to find its pacifists and shoot them. He knew he could manage to deal with people who believed in the old sort of politics, but the people whose political views were direct projections of an inward, personal, subjective morality were completely and uncompromisingly subversive of the order Hitler hoped to establish.

Part of the world's confusion, today, stems from the slow infiltration among idealists and humanitarians

of the idea that subjective morality comes *first.* It is an idea which usually disables conventional institutional operations, however "idealistic" in traditional terms. In every walk of life are people who are asking themselves if they can continue to do institutionally what they would not do personally. As they begin to think they cannot, they grow disgusted and discouraged. Life has a rancid taste. The days seem soiled by the daily occupations, from which no easy escape appears. Perhaps unhappy realizations of this sort mark the beginning of death for many of our institutions.

How long can a civilization animated by the vigor of physical youth, as America is animated, continue in a life without heart?

The frustrations of men with ideals are matched by the slowly growing frustrations of the great mass of people who follow along in the old ways, carried by the sluggish flow of institution-dominated existence. "Success," in our war-dominated society, is increasingly a spurt of activity in some kind of parasitism. Not genuine production, but astute accounting procedure, brings the big rewards these days. Government contracts for the socially useless machines of war are the plums of modern manufacture. Living costs pursue rising wages in a tiresome economic fugue, until both workers and employers darkly suspect that a *Götterdämmerung* end to it all is just around the corner.

It is enough to make us sick, and it will make us sick. We are sick already, but not sick enough to admit it publicly.

But when we are ready to admit it, we shall also admit the impotence of politics to help us. Then the strong will become weak, and the weak strong, and the social scene will be invaded by dozens of cults bearing promises of psycho-religious magic.

This, we think, is the sort of "reign of terror" that must be prepared for—not a struggle at the barricades between the freedom-loving and freedom-hating peoples, or between the "radicals" and the "reactionaries." We might best begin by scrapping all those labels.

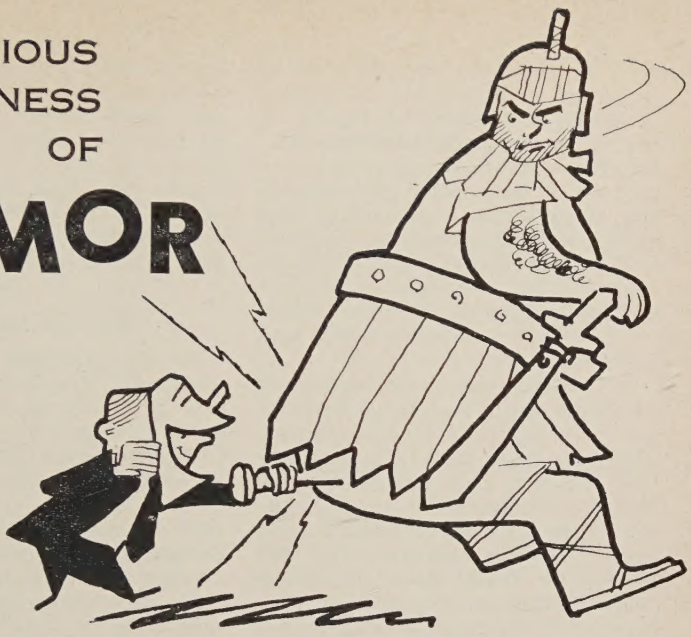
The great issue of the present is the equation between private morality and public morality, with the added problem of deciding whether our failure lies in not being able to write the equation, or in not having a private morality that is capable of practice on a public scale. The decline of politics has had to take place before we could see this issue clearly.

Some of the most penetrating articles we read these days appear in the pages of **Manas,** an "independent" magazine published at Box 32112, El Sereno Sta., Los Angeles 32, Calif. With rare exceptions, **Manas'** editors do not identify their writers with bylines. We can say only, therefore, that **The Decline of Politics** appeared in the issue of June 26, 1956, and that it is a privilege to be permitted to reprint it.

Apologies: By mistake, photo credits were omitted from the September issue. They are as follows: **Cover, Wide World; p. 22, William Lusk and Alan Peseṭsky; p. 23, Philadelphia Daily News.**

THE SERIOUS BUSINESS OF HUMOR

by Vernon Nash



VIGOROUS objections against the use of ridicule are voiced recurrently in the correspondence section of FELLOWSHIP. If the management should ever defer to this point of view, the Fellowship of Reconciliation will have laid aside one of its most effective and wholesome weapons against evil and folly. Many undesirable elements in human relationships can be spoofed out of existence far more swiftly and easily than they can be argued away.

The classical, and probably the clearest, example of this fact was the effect of Cervantes' Don Quixote and his Sancho Panza upon the romances of chivalry which (says the Encyclopedia Britannica) "had become a tissue of tiresome absurdities." If any reader should wish to compile a comprehensive case history of such examples, it can be done most readily by noting what any good encyclopedia has to say about Aristophanes (particularly his *The Frogs*), about Voltaire and his *Candide*, about the *Moriae Encomium* of Erasmus, and so on, almost indefinitely.

Concerning the last named, the Britannica observes: "The *Moriae Encomium* remains the most read of the works of Erasmus, though he himself regarded it as of slight importance." The book exalts wisdom by a satirical praise of folly. Perhaps its best modern counterpart is *The Screwtape Letters* of C. S. Lewis, which promotes righteousness by a "reverse English" in which, preposterously, the most abhorrent evils are treated as something altogether lovely.

In a jacket blurb which Mr. Lewis wrote for his latest novel, he says: "There's no sound I like better than adult male laughter."

Just as the name of this modern professor in an English university is likely to survive by reason of his purported correspondence between a veteran demon in hell and a rookie devil on earth, so Erasmus, the great scholar, theologian and author of the Renaissance, has been best known through the centuries for a kidding of kings and princes, bishops and popes, which he tossed off mainly to amuse himself and his friends.

Not infrequently a person's genius in the use of humor has eclipsed his other achievements in his own lifetime. How many ever knew that Stephen Leacock was a professor of mathematics in a Canadian university, or that Ted Robinson, inspired columnist of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer,* was for four decades a professor of philosophy in Western Reserve University? Few today would recognize the name of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, whilom Fellow and tutor of mathematics in Oriel College, Oxford; a brainchild, Alice and her adventures, immortalized his pseudonym of Lewis Carroll.

The most commonly expressed objection to the serious use of humor is the assertion that one may not with propriety ridicule what another holds sacred. To apply such a rule with any strictness would wipe out virtually all forms of sarcasm, satire and irony. Certain types of Southerner fanatically exalt white supremacy. Must we refrain, therefore, from pointing out the cosmic silliness of a code which insists on segregation in horizontal transportation but not in vertical? Must we repress our snorts at enforced *apartheid* in schools because "Negroes are dirty," while whites employ members of that race almost exclusively for the most intimate chores in the home, such as cooking, laundering, and child care? One important qualification makes me understand those who object to uses of humor. I can see that children should never be ridiculed; perhaps the same is true for those who never grow up.

The "Gloomy" Dean

If the principles are valid on which some persons rule out various types of humor, one would have thought that great religious leaders would have been among the first to act accordingly. This has not been the case, either in the past or now. To avoid invidious comparisons, I forbear to cite examples among living persons, but will take some recent instances where the persons in question were known intimately to many still with us. Dean Inge of St. Paul's was more widely known for his avocation as a satirical essayist than he was as a churchman. He had one of the most comprehensive collections of limericks in existence; in that form fun is notoriously disrespectful, impudent, and often unsuited for mixed company.

Dr. Robert E. Speer was a magnificent teller of funny stories, and had made a collection of incredible epitaphs, surely among the last things (in theory at least) at which one should laugh. The greatest of modern Quakers, Rufus Jones, inserted bits of delightful whimsy, both in conversation and in formal addresses. Thus, in the commencement address at my daughter's graduation from Westtown, he discussed a trip he had recently made around the world, dwelling particularly on extended discussions with Gandhi. "There he sat," said

Rufus Jones, "a thin, almost wizened little man, clad in a dime's worth of white cloth—prudentially distributed, of course."

The Sage of Emporia

William Allen White was a faithful churchman all his life, and was famous for his spoofing. A headline writer once put the following caption on a second-day report from a hospital: "Kansas Farmer, Kicked by Mule, Much Improved." Mr. White promptly noted that he could name a good many other farmers in Kansas who would also benefit by such treatment.

Another indictment against ridicule is that it hardens the heart of the butt of the joke whereas we ought to be chiefly concerned with changing him. This is a stiff objection, perhaps the one most difficult to answer satisfactorily. The nearest I can come to a reply is that those who are most frequently kidded are persons who have shown themselves to be unreachable by argument and, worse still, have a wide influence on others. Are we not entitled to weigh the greater value of weakening the harmful effect of such persons?

For example: one of the principal forms of McCarthyism after the First World War was the "Black List" maintained and publicized by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Any acquaintance of any member of that society knows that it believes most solemnly in anything it does, however absurd. Few of them would recognize a logical syllogism, however simply stated. Moreover, its line is followed by many non-members, and not all of them are professional super-patriots by any means.

Vernon Nash

The author of **The Serious Business of Humor** has been around and about FOR publications for quite a while. He is a lecturer and writer, once a Rhodes scholar, not long ago a vice president of World Federalists, and a long-time, eloquent, earnest, and humor-loving pacifist. Unlikely as it may seem to readers, his manuscript was entirely unsolicited by the editors of this magazine.

Hence, we were grateful when William Allen White blew their "Black List" into the stratosphere after his name was added to it. He thanked "the dear ladies," noting that it had become a most embarrassing lack of distinction not to be on that list. His little one-inch editorial was carried in a box on the front page of most American daily newspapers the next day. Most readers were amused, and few ever again take seriously something at which they have laughed.

Mr. White had many achievements of consequence to his credit but his chief influence in American life was due to such quotable whimsies. On the death of a fellow publisher of note, who had run a string of papers strictly from the counting-room, Mr. White's obituary ended with these words: "May he rest in trust." The "Sage of Emporia" actually put a spoof near the beginning of an obituary of his own teen-age daughter, which is now found in a good many anthologies of great prose.

A similar and even more influential figure was Will Rogers. His most valuable service to society

was the slitting of stuffed shirts. Such persons are usually unco-serious; if any of them has a heart amid the sawdust, it rarely manifests itself. How they would have welcomed relief from the buzzings of such a gadfly if publishers and theatrical managers had refused to let him ridicule anything that was sacred to anyone. The crack that perhaps did most to bring in the Good Neighbor Policy might have been lost to us.

Latin America had "blown its top" when American Marines shot up a village in Nicaragua from the air, one of the first such atrocities in history. Will Rogers commented somewhat as follows: "Our friends to the south are either very naive or they are astonishingly ignorant of the ways of power politics; they simply cannot understand how anyone could shake hands with one hand while operating a six-shooter with the other."

It has been my experience that protesters against certain uses of humor are seldom consistent. They actually object, as a rule, only to what *they* do not find funny. I'd like, for instance, to become intimately acquainted with all those who have written to this publication to protest the delightful whimsies of the editor and his contributors, and thus be able to watch them on occasion as they leaf through one of the wonderful books of the cartoonist, Herblock. Or, as they listen to Gilbert and Sullivan, or as they read *Punch* and the *New Yorker*.

Some years ago most of a group with which I met informally at frequent intervals deplored as in poor taste some facetious remarks of mine concerning the ritualistic robings of high ecclesiastics in certain communions. Not long after, they laughed uproariously at a friend's account of a Buchmanite ("Moral Rearmament") houseparty he had attended, which he described as a "spiritual strip-tease" show. A bit later all joined lustily in the singing of a song which was a clear caricature of a Salvation Army street service. Only a few of them, when challenged, could be made to see that the situations were parallel.

The therapeutic value of humor is another factor which helps to make it a serious business. It would be difficult, I should think, for the socially sensitive to remain sane in times like ours without the ability to laugh. The sobersides of Lincoln's cabinet remained unaware of his

impelling need for such diversion. The relief from tension of what is precisely but inelegantly known as a "belly laugh" is generally recognized. It is this benefit, in particular, which does most to account for the popularity of humor of all kinds throughout history. Humanity never needed it more than now as our neighborhood world becomes a whispering gallery.

Joker in the White House

A little wit can often dissolve away what could otherwise develop into a serious incident. My favorite example of this type of valuable service to good relations was Lincoln's comment when a commanding general sent him a dispatch so worded as to be clearly contemptuous. After his signature, the officer added these words: "Headquarters in the Saddle." "It seems to me," said Lincoln, "that the general has his headquarters where his hindquarters ought to be." When one thinks of the similar indignities with which Washington had to contend, it seems a great pity that our first President was almost totally devoid of a sense of humor.

A variant wording of those who dislike the use of ridicule is the assertion that we must respect the sincerity of another's beliefs. How far would critics carry the application of this principle? The one thing which we must grant Hitler was his sincerity. Without a fanatic's belief in his fantastic program, he could not have hypnotized tens of millions into following him. One wonders how many tens of thousands won release from that spell by watching Charlie Chaplin in "The Great Dictator." Could they have been saved any other way?

Just as burrs are one of the methods by which nature provides for the wide dissemination of seeds, so a general disposition to tell humorous sayings over and over gives truth a wider circulation. It is doubtless for this reason that so many of the epigrams in every culture are whimsically stated. The Western proposition that Rome was not built in a day is thus more effectively suggested in the Chinese saying that a fat man is not the result of one mouthful.

Still another utility of humor, perhaps its greatest, is clearness and brevity in illustration. When it began to be quite plain that the UN as a keeper of the peace was afflicted with the same futilities as the League of Nations had been, and for the same reasons, the most common apologetic was the affirmation that it is the spirit, not the design, that matters. To this most dangerous bit of nonsense, E. B. White observed in the *New Yorker*: "Maybe so, but if we are compelled to bail out of an airplane, and are offered either a parachute or a chest of drawers to take with us, we'll take the parachute, strictly on the score of its design."

It is the chief virtue of good wisecracks that they contain at least a tiny grain of truth. It took me a long time to realize why I was attracted so little to many of the suggestions made by idealists in the face of apparently insoluble problems. I knew what the matter was when I heard the yarn about a weary guard who, near the end of a football game in which his team was hopelessly behind, suggested in the huddle: "Oh, why don't we just throw a long incomplete forward pass?"

The indifference of many "good" people in positions of power of the plight of "forgotten men" in our

ety gives sardonic point to the ark of Lloyd Douglas that the ...e meaning of a sentence can often be changed merely by shifting the emphasis to an unexpected word. Thus, in the story of the Good Samaritan: A traveler fell among thieves; a priest and a Levite came along and when they saw that the man had *been* robbed, they passed by on the other side.

The only other people who kid from dawn to dark as we do are the Chinese. Most other societies feel about kidding as the English do: "It's so very personal, don't you know." A Chinese who was to become one of the great intellectual leaders of his people, on returning from a period of study in this country, was asked what real Christianity is like in a so-called Christian country. His reply was that he would define an American Christian as one who would be just as appalled at seeing Christianity actually put into practice as he would be offended at hearing anyone express doubts as to its practicality. But, said he, Americans are a very pragmatic people, and have therefore long since worked out a neat method of dealing with this problem. They have developed an institution known as the Sunday School; they require their children to attend it long enough to catch a mild case of Christianity, so that thereafter throughout life they will be immune to the real thing.

Bear in mind that other peoples get from their press a well-documented account of our un-Christ-like ways, and then tell us how you would go about answering that spoof. Our most spectacular paganisms in war and peace, particularly the one which does us the greatest harm throughout most of the world, are usually justified by citing ideas of the ancient Hebrews about the will of God even when such beliefs are clearly at variance with the revelation of Him in Christ. Few, however, make the Old Testament in its entirety their guide to conduct. Those who approve permanent suppression of colored people on the basis of the story of Noah and Ham must logically eschew the eating of pork.

How we do keep our varied beliefs in logic-tight compartments! We are proud to be the first humans to live in a scientific age, yet many whites everywhere reject out of hand the unanimous judgment of ethnologists on the non-existence of inherent racial differences. Viewed scientifically, the popular

generalizations about persons with dark skins are no more true than similar affirmations would be about those with red pigments in their hair or with blue pigments in their eyes.

We are witnessing a widespread revival in two Souths (U.S.A. and Africa) of the contention that it is against nature and the "laws of God" to attempt any changes in the created order, yet in both areas up until the coming of self-propelled tractors the principal factor in their economies was built on the breeding and use of mules. It is the chief argument of Roman Catholics against birth-control that it is "unnatural," but so are cooking, clothes, houses and a long list of commonplaces which mainly comprise modern civilized living.

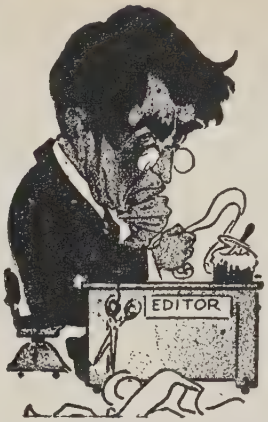
Did Jesus Joke?

G. K. Chesterton remarked that God must have created some things just for the sheer fun of it; how else can we explain the kangaroo? To many it is sacrilegious to suggest that God laughs. But it must be true if a central belief in the Judaeo-Christian creeds is factual; we declare that God made man in his own image. Look at the place which humor has always had in basic human nature; must we believe that a penchant for fun is a part of our heritage of original sin? I cannot think so when I consider the instances in which Jesus is recorded as making a point with illustrations which must have produced at least a few chuckles among his hearers.

I find it most plausible that the "needle's eye" in the parable of rich men and camels referred to a small pedestrian gate in the walls of Jerusalem, though I understand that authorities doubt this explanation. Anyone with any experience of camels knows that they make a mule look graceful and puppy-like by comparison. Jesus' listeners must have laughed at the thought of trying to get a camel down and through such an aperture. This is an admittedly questionable example, but what about the likening of that generation to children who wouldn't play either wedding or funeral: "I've piped and ye will not dance; I've mourned to you and ye will not weep."

Accept the premise that Jesus used satire and read again his words about John the Baptist: "He came neither eating nor drinking, and you said: 'He hath a devil.' The Son of Man does both, and you say: 'Behold, how he carouses with publicans and sinners.'" Metaphors in which opponents were likened to swine, as in his advice on the use of pearls, could scarcely be rated as respectful. Considering the general attitude of the people toward Scribes and Pharisees, I cannot doubt that most of Jesus' hearers laughed aloud when he pictured one of them as choosing a prominent street corner as the place in which to lift his eyes to heaven and loudly proclaim, "I thank God that I am not as other men are."

Any reader should be able to add other instances to this record. Whatever the validity of such Biblical exegesis, I will confess that, as I thank God for life and for zest in living, high on the list of things for which I am grateful is the capacity for laughter. Consequently, I continue to be most appreciative of those who provide occasions for it, and am not disposed to narrow very much the range of themes with which they may deal.



South By East

by ALFRED HASSLER

AN INDEPENDENT young Mississippi newspaper editor is spending much of his time these days demonstrating to his fellow citizens and a growing audience in other states that not all "Deep Southerners" are either segregationists or struck dumb by fear of the White Citizens' Councils.

P. D. East, 34-year-old editor of *The Petal Paper,* Petal, Mississippi, has been using every weapon in a good writer's arsenal to deflate the professional segregationists and to make his readers aware of the rights of their Negro neighbors. Most striking blow to date has been a full-page "ad" satirizing a mythical "Citizen's Clan" with razor-edged ridicule. Printed first in the March 15 issue of *The Petal Paper,* it has been reprinted twice in later issues to meet the demand for copies.

The "ad" (see cut) invites prospective members to join and be "super-superior" and "safe from social worries" for only five dollars. In a box headed "Compare These 10 Freedoms with other Old Fashioned Offers," members of the Clan are offered—

• freedom to interpret the Constitution of the United States to your own personal advantage!

• freedom to yell "Nigger" as much as you please without your conscience bothering you!

• freedom to wonder who is pocketing the five dollars you pay to join!

• freedom to take a profitable part in the South's fastest growing business: Bigotry!

• freedom to be superior without brain, character or principle!

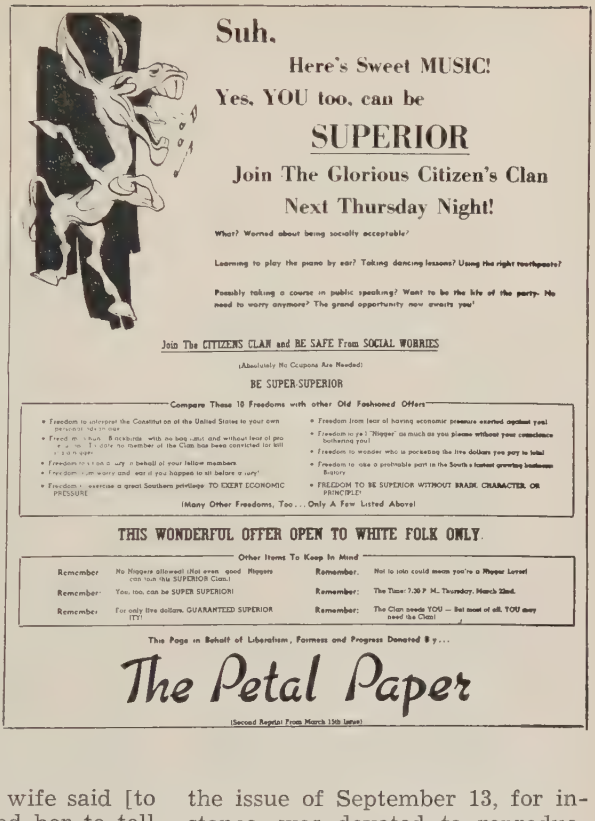
East obviously glories in his independence. In a lengthy editorial in the August 30 issue, on the occasion of the second reprint of the Citizen's Clan ad, he offered $1,000 reward to anyone "proving any connection between me personally, or this paper, and any organization whatsoever, with the exception of the Methodist Church, of which I was at one time a member."

The editor's feelings about segretion were made clear in a paragraph later in the same editorial:

"Too, I am aware of a liberal movement of a sort here in the state. Unfortunately, those who hold views which I consider fair

are afraid to open their mouths. It's still far from safe to say openly that a Negro is a human being and as such is entitled to the same rights, privileges and hopes as anyone else. In short, there is some conviction in the state, but conviction without courage ain't worth a damned. Of course, they'll hold the hats of anyone who will fight. You see, it only takes two or three to mess up a whole town—and there isn't a town in Mississippi without that two or three."

East reported that publication of the satire had brought a few telephone calls ("My wife said [to one caller who warned her to tell East not to stick his head out of the house for six weeks], 'you sound like you're as big as he is, why don't you tell him?' "); some canceled subscriptions, and no threats of violence.


Suh.
Here's Sweet MUSIC!
Yes, YOU too, can be
SUPERIOR
Join The Glorious Citizen's Clan
Next Thursday Night!
What? Worried about being socially acceptable?
Learning to play the piano by ear? Taking dancing lessons? Using the right toothpaste?
Possibly taking a course in public speaking? Want to be the life of the party. No need to worry anymore? The grand opportunity now awaits you!
Join The CITIZENS CLAN and BE SAFE From SOCIAL WORRIES
(Absolutely No Coupons Are Needed)
BE SUPER-SUPERIOR
Compare These 10 Freedoms with other Old Fashioned Offers
• Freedom from fear of having economic pressure exerted against you!
• Freedom to pay "Nigger" as much as you please without your conscience bothering you!
• Freedom to wonder who is pocketing the five dollars you pay to Ieba!
• Freedom to take a probable part in the South's fastest growing business
• FREEDOM TO BE SUPERIOR WITHOUT BRAIN, CHARACTER, OR PRINCIPLE!
(Many Other Freedoms, Too . . . Only A Few Listed Above!
THIS WONDERFUL OFFER OPEN TO WHITE FOLK ONLY.
Other Items To Keep In Mind
Remember: No Niggers allowed! (Not even good Niggers can join the SUPERIOR Clan.)
Remember: Not to join could mean you're a Nigger Lover!
Remember: You, too, can be SUPER SUPERIOR!
Remember: The Time: 7:30 P. M., Thursday, March 32nd.
Remember: For only five dollars, GUARANTEED SUPERIOR (?!)
Remember: The Clan needs YOU — But most of all, YOU may need the Clan!
This Page in Behalf of Liberalism, Fairness and Progress Donated By . . .
The Petal Paper
(Second Reprint From March 15th Issue)

The Petal Paper's editor does not confine his assaults to satire and ridicule. Interlarded with these are more sober comments that, from a distance, would seem no more likely to build circulation in Mississippi.

One-fourth of the front page of the issue of September 13, for instance, was devoted to reproduction of a speech on "the moral aspects of segregation" by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College. East referred to it in his own column as "one of the most brilliant pieces I've had the opportunity to read anywhere." Dr. Mays, of course, is a Negro.

A month later East summed up his own attitude when he warned editorially against stigmatizing human beings on the basis of race or color. "The Creator," wrote the editor, "never stigmatizes anybody. . . ."

REPORT FROM STURGIS

BY ROBERT L. CANNON

IN CERTAIN respects the pattern of behavior in Sturgis was the same as that in Clinton, Tenn. There were the same raucous tauntings of an angry crowd. With the white preachers there were the same old lame excuses: "We musn't stir up any trouble." "If those outsiders would only leave." "We must go slow." So they go, *ad infinitum, ad nauseam.* There were the same frantic attempts by adults to incite the white students to a boycott of their school—an attempt which met the same fate as the one in Clinton.

There was a difference, however. The anger of the mob was directed not only against the Negroes but the National Guardsmen as well. Even the people who stayed away from the mob felt peeved that the troops should suddenly be poured uninvited into Sturgis. This was in marked contrast to the feeling in Clinton that the military was needed and had come "in the nick of time."

More important than all of this, however, were the contacts made in this situation, contacts which gave me the feeling that my limited "journey of reconciliation" to Sturgis was more than worthwhile. Two days before my arrival Ted Braun, FOR member and E & R minister in nearby Henderson, was already on the job seeing ministers in Sturgis and visiting the homes of Negro citizens. When I got to Henderson, he enlisted the support of Rev. Sumpter Logan, a Henderson Presbyterian minister. On a Sunday afternoon Ted and I visited the Sturgis high school principal. Like his colleague in Clinton, he was considerably frightened, although he showed every willingness to see things through.

The following day Ted, Mr. Logan and I spent a solid morning and afternoon in Sturgis. Our contacts with the clergy were somewhat fruitless. Much of the apathy found here was similar to that which I encountered in Clinton.

Our contacts with the Negro citizens of Sturgis were more hopeful. Here I got the picture of a small, isolated, run-down community suddenly thrown into the stream of history-making events. These people, so accustomed to oppression, were taking it all—the venting of the white man's spleen, the wagging, vilifying tongues, the foul words spit at their children from behind a line of bayonets—with a sense of calm and lack of bitterness that should put the white man to shame.

A mother of one of the Negro students told me, "I don't understand it, Reverend. My husband works down in the mine with these white men. They work side by side; they eat together and swap jokes. They even share each others' food. I just don't understand it." Yet there was no bitterness in her words. There was only amazement at the strange, illogical antics of the troubled white man. But what

thrilled us was the calm courage of a handful of Negro students who freely offered themselves to the terrifying jeers of any angry mob. Of course they were scared, but their fright was hidden behind the calm manner in which they quietly went to and from the school. I shall never forget the look on one student's face. I asked him, "Are you planning to return to school tomorrow?" He replied with a look that clearly spoke of a new confidence and self-respect, "Yes sir, I hope to." I detected in those eyes a sense of the same spirit which has gripped the Negro citizens of Montgomery, Ala.

After conversations with two Negro ministers we succeeded in persuading them to hold a meeting of all the parents and students involved in this situation. Plans are to hold this meeting next week. Later on, in October, Ted Braun plans to show the new FOR film, *Walk to Freedom,* to the Negro community at Sturgis as well as the surrounding area.

One incident that we experienced seemed in a moment to throw the events at Sturgis dramatically into the world struggle for freedom. A young Filipino soldier, stationed at nearby Camp Breckenridge, was on leave in Sturgis. He said he was moved by the hapless plight of the Negro citizenry to volunteer his services. With the permission of the military he used his car that day to transport the Negro students to and from school. This action by the young Filipino was somewhat puzzling to the angry citizens of Sturgis. They got their chance to "get" him when the school was let out for lunch. The soldier drove his car to the front entrance and the students quietly got in while a handful of whites, led by a hefty woman, exercised their vile language.

An armed soldier told the Filipino to get going, and the driver, in an obvious state of fright, took off at a fast pace, and went though a stop light. The white woman and her cohorts immediately summoned a state trooper nearby, told him what had happened, and demanded that he arrest the Filipino. The trooper lost no time in gunning his car in pursuit. The Filipino was

Why This Article?

By the time you read this, Sturgis, Kentucky, may have disappeared from the headlines. But the tension that made Sturgis a brief battleground in the struggle for freedom will not disappear so quickly. The same theme—with local variations—continues to resound throughout the South, wherever white supremacist agitators ply their trade. This is why the events in Sturgis, now two months old, remain relevant today and tomorrow.

Bob Cannon, who sent in his report on September 12, is one of the FOR's newest staff members. His assignment is also one of the FOR's toughest. As Mid-South Regional Secretary, operating out of Nashville, Tennessee, the young Methodist minister is well within the "combat zone" of desegregation. Tear-gassed in the rioting at Clinton, Cannon had only a weekend's relief—at the FOR National Conference in Chicago—before going on to Sturgis and other trouble spots in his region.

caught and given a ticket. We witnessed all this and then went over to talk with the young soldier. He was in a pitiful state of confusion. "I didn't want to hurt anybody," he said. "I only wanted to help these students; I only wanted to help prevent these students from getting hurt." I suggested privately to my companion that here was a chance possibly to put a brake on the increasing tension against this Filipino as well as help him out of a jam. He had to appear in court that afternoon. There would certainly be a host of Sturgis citizens, led by our lady-friend, on hand in court to see this "Fillapina git what's comin' to him." I suggested that the three of us help in the payment of the young man's fine and that we appear in court to give him moral support to what he was trying to do in helping the Negro students. At the court a crowd of belligerent whites appeared, and our friend accepted the judgment of $15 against him. It was an unforgettable moment when Mr. Logan rose to pay the fine.

To see a Clinton or a Sturgis these days is to see a picture that is both thrilling and tragic. The thrill is to see a Negro community that could strike back with violence and yet refrains from doing so—in a manner that turns the vicious catcalls of white farmers and well-dressed white women (many, no doubt, prominent in their churches' women's societies) into so much foolish prattle. The tragedy is to see a typical Southern town in this great land of freedom frantically clawing away at the dirt to mend the battered walls of an archaic system that has denied freedom to so many Americans for 90 or more years. The tragedy is to see a handful of ministers of the radical Jesus plaintively cry "Go slow!" while a whole world in revolution crashes in about them from all sides. What can be more frustrating than to be against the stream of history and to know deep down that you have no moral or legal grounds for building any more dams against that stream? This is the plight today of both the "go slow" white liberal and of the fanatic segregationist.

In conclusion, I would make the following observations:

1. As a result of visits to these "hot spots," I have become ever more convinced that most of the initiative for decisive moves against segregation and for brotherhood will have to come from the Negro.

2. Whenever possible we should go into a situation that has become a Clinton. We should visit the white leaders, especially the clergy, and challenge them with the cause of brotherhood and do so on Christian grounds. True, religion is a sacred cow in these parts, but this can work to an advantage. We should not throw away the opportunity of trying to help these ministers see the meaning of brotherhood at a time when this issue has blown up in their faces.

3. Equally important, and most likely more fruitful, we should visit the Negro community in an explosive situation. I found in Sturgis that the Negro community not only welcomed but was eager for expressions of support and identification with the cause of freedom.

4. From contacts made in an explosive situation we should pinpoint these areas as places for further work and cultivation. In Sturgis, for example, I plan to persuade Ted and others to do some follow-up work, not only in Sturgis itself but in surrounding areas as well.

The BAD YEAR and the EYE OF FAITH

BY MARGARET C. McCULLOCH

To millions of us, both white and Negro, who live in the South, this year, 1955-56, has seemed above all years experienced the Bad Year of race relations.

To the eye of our fears it is so indeed; but how would it look to the eye of faith?

First let us look with that eye of fear, a very natural, very human way of looking. Why does this year look so "bad"?

Reasons enough. Because of violence, bombings, mobs, murders, and the failure of authorities to punish the perpetrators. Because of organized hate groups—Pro Southerners, We the People, revived Ku Klux Klans and many others; and because of the things they do—getting people, white and Negro, fired from jobs if they venture to advocate compliance with the law of the land, getting their credit cut off, writing anonymous letters full of abuse, filth and threats, putting in telephone calls of a like nature all night long, threatening bloodshed, burning fiery crosses on the lawns of anyone who incurs their hate, from humble, quiet Negro citizens buying homes sold them by white persons, to the justices of the United States Supreme Court.

Because also in their resistance to compliance with the Supreme Court's ruling they have the backing and support of able, educated, wealthy citizens in such organizations as the Federation for Constitutional government, and even of some Southern governors and at least one United States Senator.

Because no clear, strong leadership in support of the law has come from the Chief Executive of the United States, nor from the Congress; while in the most reactionary states every effort is being

made to pass "laws" and resolutions and pronouncements designed not to enforce the law but to evade or nullify it, and to take from Negroes even such rights as they have, outlaw the NAACP and deprive citizens of voting rights.

Small wonder that we feel battered and disheartened and fearful. One sees the strained look and hears the tense, disturbed voice of fear and confusion on every hand. It would be a hard, unloving heart indeed that was not harrowed by all this suffering, hate, and fear; that felt no sympathy with responsible officials and others in positions of leadership who would like to do right (and they are many), but who are caught between pressures in the whirlwind. But the heart of God is not hard, it suffers in the suffering of each one of all these; and if our love for Him is real we enter in our humble way into that love and that suffering. It is then a bad year for us, not alone because we personally are endangered or damaged, but because we suffer with God in the suffering of all these. Even as we do so, however, we realize that we are not alone but are all of us in the heart of the loving and Eternal God, and that He who walked the dusty roads of Palestine and wept over Jerusalem that stoned the prophets, walks today with us on the hot sidewalks of Birmingham and Memphis and of the small towns seething with hate and fear; and we know that His tears of compassion mingle with ours. We catch the echo of His voice, "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom. Why are you so fearful, O you of little faith?"

In His nearness we venture to look up and try to view the scene afresh, this time not with the eye of our self-regarding fear, but with the eye of our renewed faith in Him. What now do we see?

Afar off we see the long, long march of America towards freedom and equality. Nearer we see the slow coming of desegregation and integration in the industrial unions of the 1930s and early 1940s, in the field of social services and professional health and social work ranks, in the Armed Forces during World War II, in graduate schools, Northern first and Southern later during the 1940s, in the school systems of New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, New Mexico, and Arizona, by state action before the Supreme Court decrees; and we see it all as part of a great worldwide movement towards equality of opportunity and human dignity.

The Supreme Court

Next we see the Supreme Court decrees—of 1954, laying down the principle; and of 1955, outlining the manner of desegregation in public education—the latter a lenient decree permitting local school boards to determine the manner and rate of compliance in accordance with the conditions of their local communities. And within a year of the second decree we see one half the South's formerly white public colleges desegregated and Negro students beginning to enter at the undergraduate level and a few white students enrolled in Negro colleges. We see the upper South generally complying—Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma and the District of Columbia all well along the way, and over 250,000 Negro children in these formerly segregating areas, already attending

formerly white-only schools.

In terms of history, this is a vast achievement for a single year.

From 17 states and the District of Columbia the Jim Crow South has been reduced to 11 states, and some of these are indecisively sitting on the fence. When one reads today "The South fights back" against the Supreme Court, the writer means no longer the South of 17 states and the District of Columbia, but the South of 6 states: Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, with some sore spots here and there in other states.

Our eyes of faith are indeed opening and they see yet more. Practically all theological seminaries, Catholic and Protestant, have voluntarily desegregated and a few Negro students are enrolling. Catholic parochial schools in areas of compliance are voluntarily desegregating. Church-supported colleges, white and Negro, including some in the South, are exchanging students and an occasional faculty member, and so are a few church schools.

Indeed, from all over the nation comes support for those of us in the South who seek to stand for what is right. It comes in money and in personnel for the United Negro College Fund and the National Negro Scholarship Service and Fund with its invaluable program of testing and talent search, scholarships and two-way integration; in support for the NAACP; in foundation grants for research and education in race relations in the South. It comes in special church projects like those of the Friends in Washington, D. C., and now in North Carolina; of the Congregationalists in North Carolina and Virginia; and of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Space is lacking to list all the channels and sources of financial aid and new personnel.

Help comes also in Church pronouncements. Practically every leading nationwide religious body —Jewish, Catholic and Protestant —has come out squarely for unsegregated religious institutions in an unsegregated society, and has given those at local levels moral and spiritual support. This support is furthered by every act of church desegregation at national and regional levels and by every instance of integration in church life in areas outside the South. Astonished, we see how far from true it is, as in our fears we had exclaimed, that as soon as the Supreme Court decrees were issued all other progress in race relations ceased. Far from it indeed, the contrary is true, the pace has been accelerated. Moreover, the principle has been applied by the Supreme Court to other areas of life—such as public tax-supported bathing beaches and golf courses, and, by implication, to all tax-supported facilities. The Interstate Commerce

Margaret C. McCulloch

The author of **The Bad Year and the Eye of Faith** is Executive Secretary of Integration Service, Inc., a small, "strictly local" educational service agency in Memphis, Tenn. The organization was founded in May 1955 by residents of Memphis "to serve Memphis and Shelby County citizens who want to study the desegregation of schools and related matters from a constructive standpoint."

Commission has ruled against segregation of interstate passengers in railroad and bus terminals; "white" and "colored" signs in waiting rooms are coming down, and a trickle of merging has begun.

The Eye of Faith in Memphis

Surprised, we view again the local scene where a minute ago all seemed so dark to the eye of our fear. What does the eye of faith perceive? We will view Memphis, where this is being written, capital of the Mid-South, over one-third Negro in population, storm center of "anti" movements. What do we see in 1955-56? The first Negro fire engine company at work; the first beds for Negro children in the Crippled Children's Hospital; the first Negro patients being treated at Cerebral Palsy Clinic; the first special public school classes for crippled Negro children and for the retarded; the newly opened unit of the city hospital with 125 beds for Negro paying patients, interracial medical and nursing staff and the first accredited School of Nursing for Negroes. We see our first Negro bookmobile, tax-supported, and the doubling of the Negro library staff and of book circulation among Negroes. We see our first local Negro candidate running for the state legislature, and the first joint meetings of our white and Negro Ministerial Alliances. We could list more. Behind the screams of hate, the shouting of demagogues, the smokescreen of defiance, we see the quiet working on of people of goodwill and hear again, "Fear not little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

Perhaps the most striking new aspect of the scene is the new courage and determination of Negroes, ready for the first time to struggle and when need be to die to attain full freedom and citizenship—the astonishing courage of attorneys, ministers, labor leaders, and just ordinary little folk not to be intimidated by burning crosses, abuse, threats, economic reprisals or even murders. Yes, "new," and this leads to what I believe underlies all this outburst and is the reason for the South's convulsive foror.

For 90 years we have lived under a compromise—that Negroes might progress as long as white supremacy and white exclusiveness went unchallenged. It was the era of "second-class citizenship." We all contributed to it. Northern whites by washing their hands and turning their backs; Southern whites by imposing their wills and rationalizing their conduct as the benevolence of a superior race to an inferior; Negroes by stooping to seek patronage, even though it meant selling their birthright for a mess of pottage. Today the compromise is challenged. The challenge came not from the Supreme Court but from sources as deep as human nature, as wide as the world, as high as the God that created us all in His image, elements emerging irresistibly at this stage of human history. But the Supreme Court decisions voiced the challenge clearly, officially, and irrevocably. Like the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation, these decrees are a tocsin of liberty, tolling the death knell of one era and the birth of a new. It is not this or that particular adjustment which is convulsing the South, but the recognition that the end of an era is announced, the end of a way of life.

The evils of that way have been concealed from us by long custom. Everyone has a need to think well of himself, Northern white as the Negro's friend and champion, Southern white as his kindly patron, Negro as the noble oppressed. To stand stripped of this flattering ego-image, naked before the world in the glaring light of publicity, condemned for the shameful compromise we have been carrying on, to see that compromise as inconsistent with our faith alike in democracy and in Christianity—this is a searing experience. We cannot carry our old egos forward into the new era but the old Adam in us dies hard and struggles fiercely in his self-defense. Many will reach old age and die in the embattled and embittered defense of an era whose death they cannot bring themselves to recognize. For new eras demand new men. Of us who are white this new era demands humility in place of arrogance, justice in place of patronage, acceptance in place of condescension. Of those of us who are Negro it demands courage in place of servility, initiative and responsibility in place of dependence, high standards of job performance, academic achievements and family life springing from within, not imposed by others.

Can a man be born again when he is old? Only in the power of the Spirit. Yet there is no place to go but forward. It is a terrible year to the eye of our fears. To the eye of our faith it is a great year. The nation has crossed another great divide in its history, toward democracy in citizenship, toward integrity in Christianity. But the crisis is great and will be prolonged. Only with the understanding prayer and help of the whole nation and of Christians everywhere can the threat of the Bad Year seen by the eye of our fear become the fulfilled promise of the Good Year seen by the eye of our faith.

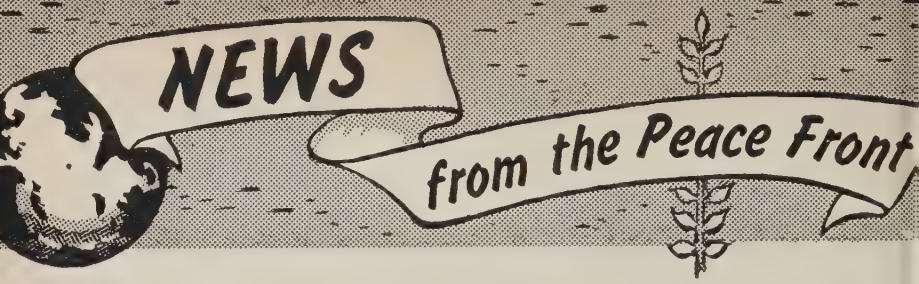
PASSIVE RESISTANCE

It is necessary from time to time to reiterate the underlying philosophy of the Montgomery movement. It is a philosophy of passive resistance. This philosophy was ably expounded by Henry David Thoreau of this country and effectively practiced by Ghandi of India. Through this method Ghandi was able to free India from British domination. It has freed the hearts and minds of Negro Montgomerians, who are learning for the first time the real meaning of love.

Though Negroes refuse to cooperate with the evils of segregation on busses, they never resort to retaliatory violence against those who impose it. There is no bitterness, no hatred in their thoughts—but there is a freedom that words cannot explain. The very souls of the masses are free. The people are happy as they walk or ride, whatever the case happens to be, and they go about their work as if nothing ever happened to create ill-will among the races.

Because of their cheerfulness, many white people respond with similar attitudes. A smile on the streets by one evokes a smile from the other.

—Martin Luther King, Jr.
in the MIA Newsletter.



"Walk to Freedom" Lauded At Montgomery Premiere

An overflow crowd of some 800 persons packed the Hutchison Street Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, last month to view the world premiere of Fellowship Films' *Walk to Freedom.*

Thunderous applause greeted many scenes in the film, particularly those showing Mrs. Rosa Parks, the woman whose arrest for refusing to yield her seat on a bus to a white man led to the organizing of the bus protest movement last December. Mrs. Parks was present when the film was shown.

Others at the screening were FOR Mid-South Regional Secretary Robert L. Cannon, Montgomery Improvement Association President Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph D. Abernathy and Robert L. Graetz. Graetz, a white Lutheran pastor of a Negro congregation, announced that he plans to show the 17-minute action film to white audiences in Birmingham and Mobile as well as in Montgomery.

Walk to Freedom, hailed as one of the FOR's major contributions in its work for nonviolence in the Southern crisis, will be shown again and again to Negro audiences in Montgomery, according to Dr. King, MIA president. Bob Cannon is planning to show it in a number of recent trouble spots in the Mid-South Region, including Clinton, Tenn., and Clay and Sturgis, Ky.

Although unique as a cinematic contribution to its race relations work, *Walk to Freedom* is only the most recent in a long series of projects in this field. The pioneer work of James Farmer, George Houser and Bayard Rustin in the early 1940s; A. J. Muste's "What the Bible Teaches About Freedom: A Message to the Negro Churches" (1943); and the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation, in which eight Negroes and eight whites toured the Upper South, defying Jim Crow on buses at a total cost of 12 arrests; the Interracial Workshops which toppled racial barriers in many formerly "lily white" restaurants—these were some of the highlights of the Fellowship's work.

More recent events have included the Ministers' Statement in March of this year and the Atlanta Conference in May—described by A. J. Muste as "the most significant I have attended in fifty years in the Christian ministry"—as well as workshops at Tuskegee Institute; Nashville, Tenn.; Columbia, S. C.; and elsewhere. In these, the tireless work of Wilson Riles, Bob Cannon and National Field Secretary Glenn Smiley have led Dr. Abernathy of the MIA to characterize the FOR as "the organization responsible for many of the things that we now do in the Montgomery Improvement Association."

Several hundred dollars' worth

of literature on nonviolence has been distributed to colleges, ministers and leading laymen in the South over the past few months, and these, says Glenn Smiley, have "undoubtedly been of tremendous value." The interest and enthusiasm they have aroused has been considerable. "Not since the first days of World War II," says Smiley, "have I participated in such eager discussions of pacifism."

But if the FOR can point with pride to its contribution, the lion's share of credit rests with the courageous leaders of the local, spontaneous protest movements, without which there would have been scant basis for FOR work. Without indigenous groups like the MIA, *Walk to Freedom* would be a grand but empty gesture. With them, it can perhaps exercise decisive influence in keeping the struggle for human rights on a nonviolent footing.

MIA Girds for Future

At the film premiere, Dr. King indicated his anticipation of an early court ruling in favor of bus desegregation. Accordingly, this would presage a new phase in the nonviolent struggle. In returning to bus-riding on an unsegregated basis, Negroes will have to be prepared to deal with insults, threats and possible violence from white passengers charged up with White Citizens Council and Ku Kluz Klan propaganda. A chief means of preparation, the "socio-drama," was illustrated by Dr. King at the film premiere. In this, various people are assigned the roles of Negro passengers and of possible troublemakers. Imaginary situatons are acted out and nonviolent techniques are brought to bear on them. Thus, when actual incidents occur later on, MIA members will not be caught unawares and panic into violence.

In sum, the occasion was a memorable one for the FOR and Fellowship Films as well as for the MIA, but the showing of *Walk to Freedom* gave promise, in the long run, of being just one more step in the day-to-day walk to freedom of the Negroes of Montgomery and elsewhere.

Florida A.M.E. Church Backs Tallahassee Protest

Five hundred delegates attending the annual meeting of the African Methodist Episcopal Church at Jacksonville on September 5 voted unanimously to back Tallahassee Negroes in their protest against segregated seating and abuses by drivers in that city.

Bishop D. Ward Nichols of New York, Presiding Bishop of the First Episcopal District, is organizing a "human relations committee" which will furnish speakers to tour the state and urge "prayerful methods of working together, and not to resort to violence."

Police harassment has included the arresting of Negro car pool drivers on the ground that their cars lacked "for hire" tags which cost $15 extra. The Rev. K. C. Steele, president of the Inter-Civic Council which was organized to lead the protest movement, has been arrested twice on this pretext. The actions of the Tallahassee police, said Bishop Nichols, "border on those of officials of a police state." Their effect, as FELLOWSHIP went to press, however, has only been to strengthen the solidarity of the Negro community.

FOR Conference Draws Appreciative Group

Close to 200 members and friends met this year at Chicago Theological Seminary to attend the 1956 annual conference of the FOR. Although attendance was smaller than in previous years, the spirit of the conference was excellent.

The program featured a number of stimulating speakers: On Friday evening Robert L. Cannon, L. H. Pitts, D. J. Simms and Glenn Smiley discussed nonviolence in the South—augmented by a "sneak preview" of *Walk to Freedom.*

Saturday morning's panel on "The Economics of War and Peace" included Hayes Beall, Kermit Eby and A. J. Muste. Afternoon discussion groups on race and economics were topped off in the evening with an address on international affairs by FOR Executive Secretary John M. Swomley, Jr.

The conference concluded on Sunday, following the preaching of a prize-winning sermon by Frank Whitt, winner of the recent contest (see "News," September FELLOWSHIP) sponsored by the Church Peace Mission.

Changes Urged by FOR Policy Committee

Major changes in the organizational structure and policy of the FOR were recommended by the Policy Committee of the National Council at the October 1 meeting of the National Executive Committee. The recommendations, which were in the nature of a preliminary report on activities, came as conclusions from a study of current activities by the committee.

The report emphasized the diverse membership of the Fellowship and inadequate recruiting activities as the bases for its assertion that the present regional setup does not meet the FOR's needs. The gap of $32,000 between budgeted expenses for the current year and anticipated income was cited as making the need for solution to the problem urgent.

The Policy Committee's report pointed out that regional offices currently absorb almost half the organization's total budget, and that the consequent tight financial situation has resulted in a severely understaffed national office. It recommended adding to the national staff an associate secretary, a youth secretary, and two additional office workers. As a "not immediately attainable" goal the report called also for the addition of another editorial worker in order to add more literature and audio-visual services.

In the field, the report contemplates strengthening of regional and area committees and organizing such committees in now unorganized areas. It recommends also annual or semi-annual conferences in each area, with outstanding speakers. For the present regional offices it would substitute branch offices on the Pacific Coast and in the Midwest, with additional field workers employed as the budget permits.

Strong emphasis was put on the need to systematize and coordinate membership activities, both in the national office and in the field. All staff members would be required to spend a substantial proportion of their time in personal calls.

The Committee was authorized to circulate its report among the various regional committees, and to bring in final recommendations

at the December meetings of the National Council.

M. Forest Ashbrook, FOR assistant treasurer and executive secretary of the American Baptist Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board, is chairman of the committee. Other members are Lloyd Berg, of the New York Regional Council; S. F. Boden, FOR treasurer and executive vice-president of Morningside Gardens cooperative apartments; Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., FOR national chairman and assistant professor of sociology at Brooklyn College; Hazel Perkison McKinley, director of religious education at Broadway Congregational Church; John Oliver Nelson, former national chairman and professor of vocations at Yale Divinity School; Herman Will, national vice-chairman of the FOR and associate director of the Methodist Board of World Peace; and George Willoughby, executive secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors.

FOR Buys Office & Peace Center

Purchase of a former mansion for its national office and a training and retreat center was voted on October 1 by the FOR Executive Committee. The decision to buy, based on authorization given by the National Council at its April meeting, reversed a previous decision of June 4 (See "News," July FELLOWSHIP). Reversal hinged on the reduction of the mansion's purchase price by approximately one half.

The property purchased is located in Upper Nyack, New York, about twenty miles from New York City. It consists of a large steel-concrete-and-brick building with 34 rooms and 9 baths, on slightly less than two acres of ground overlooking the Hudson River. Although the building is reported to have cost almost $400,000 to build in 1921, it was purchased for $35,000. It is anticipated that all carrying charges will not exceed rental of the present inadequate space in Manhattan.

Two factors influenced the decision: the need to have more and better space for national office functions, and the prospect of developing a retreat and training center, with a peace library, for the development of stronger local leadership. An entire wing of the building is expected to be set aside as a conference center for just such work after necessary repairs and redecorating are done.

Although the FOR took possession of the property on October 2, it is not expected to transfer its operations fully to the new headquarters until sometime after the end of the year. Plans are being made to enlist the participation of members in work-camp operations and in general furnishing and redecorating where necessary. When all preliminaries to occupation have been completed, a full report will be sent to the membership.

Human Relations Explored In Washington Co-op Camp

At Quaker Cove, Anacortes, Wash., this summer, 78 persons of all ages met for discussions of pacifism, altruism and co-op communities in Fellowship Camp. Resource leaders included Herman Will, Jr., FOR National Council member; Mildred Fahrni, Western Secretary of the Canadian FOR; and George Ault of the Washington Mental Health Assn. Floyd Schmoe,

FOR member and president of Houses for Korea, showed slides of Korea.

Sponsor of the camp, which met August 3-10, was Fellowship Activities, recently incorporated as a recreation and educational co-op. Gratified by the success of the camp venture, FA plans to sponsor regular meetings, outings, work parties and recreation "for the spiritual growth of participants" in Seattle and vicinity.

Selective Service Heads Pay Tribute to NSBRO

Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director of the Selective Service System, and Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, Director of the Dept. of Defense Mobilization, addressed a special luncheon meeting of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors on Sept. 21 to pay tribute to the work of NSBRO and related groups in implementing the government's alternative service program for COs during the Korean War.

General Hershey said he was proud of the work that COs have done, and praised the CO agencies for what they have done "in the name and objective of religious liberty." Dr. Flemming expressed "deep appreciation" and said the NSBRO and other agencies have done a "splendid job."

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF FELLOWSHIP published monthly except August at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1956.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher—Fellowship of Reconciliation, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.; Editor—Alfred Hassler, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.; Managing editor—none; Business manager—none.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.) Fellowship of Reconciliation, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.; Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., Chairman, Skyview Acres, Pomona, N. Y.; John M. Swomley, Jr., Secretary, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.; S. F. Boden, Treasurer, 679 Bedford Road, Pleasantville, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of September, 1956.

(SEAL)

MARGARET NOSELLI

(My commission expires March 30, 1958)

Tomorrow in the Making

A World in Revolution by Sidney Lens. Frederick A. Praeger. 1956. 250 pp. $3.75.

One can always count on solid information and thoughtful analysis in a book by Sidney Lens, that unusual combination of a Chicago union business agent, student of world affairs, and author. The present volume was preceded by two others, *Left, Right and Center,* a good outline of recent American labor history, and *The Counterfeit Revolution,* dealing with developments in Russia and the rest of the communist world.

Good as these books were, in my opinion, the new one is a big advance on them, both in content and in style. It is a lively, clear, gripping and continuously interesting piece of writing. For an insight into the foreign relations of the United States in the context of the presidential election campaign, citizens will not find a more reliable source; but it will be an excellent basis after the election as well for study groups in labor, church, college and political circles.

The main theme of the book is the relation of feudalism, capitalism, colonialism, communism and the popular revolutions which are sweeping large parts of the world today. The author points out that the historic function of capitalism in western Europe was to put an end to feudal structures and develop an industrial society under a regime of public law which replaced the private law of the feudal lord. But when capitalism moved into Asia, for example, it did not abolish feudalism there. What it did was to put a façade of capitalism over the feudal village structure.

Consequently the result in colonial lands was a money economy, some railroads, modern machinery in the colonial plantations and colonial factories, but along with these "improvements" the feudal, authoritarian structure was fastened more rigidly on the villages. When a nationalist revolt occurred, as in Egypt in 1881, it was put down because British capitalists and imperialists did not want to see a strong industrialized nation develop there. Thus in wide areas "living standards of the general mass declined, cultures stood still, and national aspirations were dimmed."

The "free" (*i.e.,* noncommunist) world is thus made up of two social systems, capitalism and feudalism, which have nothing in common. It is an illusion that such a combination can hold together or that feudalism is a viable ally against communism. Communism, rather, wins prestige and gains ground against the West because it supports the nationalist struggles against military feudalism.

The book details how this process has operated in recent years

and is now operating in one country after another which figures in the turbulence of our time: Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Yugoslavia, France, India, Indonesia, China and so on down the line. The important personalities in the struggles being waged in these various countries, most of whom Lens met in recent years, are completely described.

In the two closing chapters, entitled respectively "Big Stick, Little Stick" (the American military establishment which is no longer a "big stick") and "The War Without Bullets" the author sets forth a program for U.S. policy, both in general terms and in its application to specific countries. "Revolutionary pacifists," he suggests, "like A. J. Muste and many Quakers, feel that our policy should be *exclusively* social without any military program." While he does not think we can "dispense with a military program altogether," he does affirm that "it would be preferable to have no army and no military forces whatsoever than to have the present military *approach* to foreign policy. . . . Such an approach dooms America to the status of a second-class power within the next few decades. . . . The liberals who are willing to continue parallel action with militarism made, in my opinion, a fatal error."

There are just two critical questions to be raised about this magnificent study. In the first place, it seems likely that Lens presents too optimistic a picture of the possibility that U.S. capitalism may somehow be brought to undergo the radical reorientation which would be needed for it to adopt the non-military, "social approach" to the problem. In the second place, the book was written before the Khrushchev revelations about Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., and therefore does not reckon with the possible promise for desirable changes in the communist sector of the world, which this development perhaps holds out.

But these reservations do not detract from the superlative value and timeliness of the book as a whole. —A. J. MUSTE

WHERE ARE WE NOW?

AN IMPORTANT NEW PAMPHLET

BY A. J. MUSTE

AMERICAN RADICALISM AND THE IMPACT OF RECENT SOVIET DEVELOPEMENTS

Single Copy 15c *8 copies* $1

ORDER FROM:

Liberation

110 Christopher Street,
N. Y. 14, N.Y.

No Cause for Optimism

The Civilian and the Military by Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr. Oxford. 1956. 340 pp. $6.50.

The Decline of American Liberalism by Arthur A. Ekirch, Jr. Longmans, Green. 1955. 401 pp. $7.50.

American historians are, more often than not, optimists, still holding to a nineteenth-century faith in progress. Although the final chap-

ters of college and high school history texts take cognizance of thermonuclear warfare and in some instances of the garrison state, these aspects of modern America are treated as "problems" or "challenges" which democracy is sure to meet successfully. Professor Ekirch of American University is an exception: no one can accuse him of taking a Pollyanna view of the future, and he refuses to equate progress with the proliferation of household gadgets, super-horsepower automobiles and Cold War prosperity. Looking at the American past and present he sees no reason for optimism. Instead he calls attention to developments which other historians have neglected or touched on only lightly.

The younger generation of Americans would be surprised if they were to learn that one of their nation's greatest traditions has been that of anti-militarism. Even the term itself has little meaning to moderns. A general in the White House, military men in top government posts, conscription, the constant flood of propaganda from appropriation-hungry armed services, and almost unanimous congressional obeisance to the Air Force: all these are generally accepted as phenomena as basically American as baseball.

The Civilian and the Military is a history of the struggle against these phenomena. It explores the dynamics of anti-militarism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and traces the rapid decline of this great tradition in the twentieth century. Based on scholarly research that has stretched over a decade, this book offers encouraging evidence that resistance to the diffuse influences of the military services and their civilian apostles is

"YOU ARE THERE"—
SUMMER 1957
—not a radio program,
but a face-to-face experience
with
Wilhelm MENSCHING
Freundschaftsheim
Pastor Martin NIEMOELLER
André & Magda TROCME
Versailles
Philippe VERNIER
Kaspar & Hildegarde MAYR
Vienna

You've **read** about them—
In FOR Films you've **seen** them—
Some you've **heard** in U.S.A. lectures;
Now they open the
Door of Welcome to
YOU and ALL YOUR FRIENDS to
Come to Europe and Visit Them—
leisurely, in person, on a Peace Tour. The invitation is an outgrowth of the 1st Annual Peace Tour, 1956, led by FOR National Vice-Chairman Allan Hunter, Baptist Pacifist Fellowship President Harold Jensen, FOR National Exec. Committee Member Bill Hammond. 20 persons interviewed most leading European pacifists and many other key persons, all of whom invited us to return.
COME WITH US: July or August, for 10 days Mensching, 7 days with Trocmés, 4 days East & West Berlin; on seminars with all-star list of many other leaders. Total 30 days roundtrip by air (some ship space), prices to 50% lower than commercial, much lower than our own 1956 costs. **Again, an extension to Russia** with valuable contacts.
Whether you have any or no denomination, peace affiliation, or age (!), welcome! Ltd. enrollment and enthusiastic commendation from '56 tour-members means your inquiry for details should be prompt.

Rev. W. M. Hammond, Jr.
Baptist Peace Fellowship
303 Fifth Avenue, rm. 516,
New York 16, N. Y.

one of the finest of our Anglo-Saxon inheritance. The dangers of accepting military definitions of national security was understood in the past by most thinking Americans. Ekirch's final chapter on the contemporary movement in the direction of the garrison state is a powerful summary of that characteristic of American society which Toynbee found to cause the breakdown of many civilizations.

Professor Ekirch's second book equates the ill-defined term, "liberalism," with freedom of the individual and tolerance for intellectual diversity. *The Decline of American Liberalism* studies the erosion of individual freedom from the earliest days of our national history. In this respect, if not in others, he sees the colonial period as a golden age with each successive period of history drifting further from the early American ideals. The Constitution with its centralization and consolidation of power provided the basis for the first great assault on freedom of speech and press at the hands of the Federalists. The Jeffersonians and the Jacksonians, despite their ideological professions, each made a contribution to the decline. The Civil War and its aftermath of triumphant nationalism had an impact on liberal ideals which in some ways nullified the contribution to human rights made by the abolition of slavery. Coming down to the twentieth century the evils produced by two world wars are presented in a perspective and with insight rare in modern historical writing.

In combination, Professor Ekirch's two volumes present the reader with a new and radical interpretation of American history and a fresh view of the past. If this interpretation can influence the type of history taught the high school and college student of today, perhaps there is yet hope that the developments, described by Ekirch with a wealth of evidence, can be arrested. —WILLIAM L. NEUMANN

ADVERTISEMENTS

WHITHER FREEDOM—how the draft was started, why and how many men refused to cooperate with it, and what happened to them. Printed, 24 pages. Send 25c to: Harry Wallenburg, Borego Star Route, Julian, Cal.

HELP WANTED

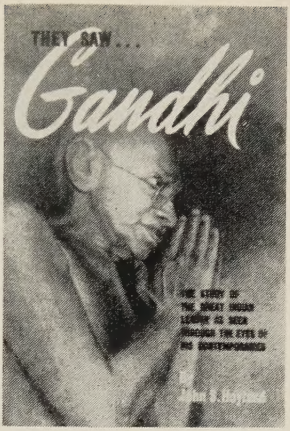
FINANCE-INTERPRETATION SECRETARY, Seattle-Portland Regional Offices, American Friends Service Committee. Friend, or one who shares Friends' principles, needed for fund-raising position in Northwest, primarily involving personal solicitation. Send inquiries to Harry Burks, 3959 15th Ave. N.E., Seattle 5, Washington.

SECRETARY: General office work, dictaphone (no shorthand), preparing publicity materials, at mountain school. Interesting rural situation. Comfortable quarters. Write: Director, Pine Mountain Settlement School, Pine Mountain, Ky.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Paul G. Macy, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley 8, Calif.; *Southwest:* Wilson Riles, 1205 W. Jefferson Blvd., Los Angeles 7, Calif.; *New York:* Kent Larrabee, 1133 Broadway (rm. 1601), N. Y. 10, N. Y.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.; *New England:* Robert Gussner, 9 Park Street, Boston 8, Mass.; *Mid-South:* Robert Cannon, 2123 Garland Ave. (Apt. 28), Nashville, Tenn. *National Field Secretary:* Glenn E. Smiley, 21 Audubon Avenue, N. Y. 32, N. Y.

UEL FOR THE LAMP OF FAITH



HIS SEASON, Fellowship Publications offers a number of excellent books at prices which will attract rchasers who are poorer in cash than in spirit. Leadg off the list is a paperback reprint, shown at left, John S. Hoyland's **They Saw Gandhi,** the story of dia's great soul as his contemporaries saw him, with preface by John Haynes Holmes. Formerly available a $1.75 cloth-bound edition, it is now only 25c.

If you love good poetry, you will want to read **ings of the Morning** by Edith Lovejoy Pierce. $1, perbound.

For Christmas giving—and for magnificent reading— **The Soldier at the Door,** the moving novel about the heart of a mother whose boy ed in Korea. $2, clothbound.

And don't overlook these perennial favorites:

COURAGE IN BOTH HANDS—ALLAN HUNTER. Cloth, $1.50; paper, 50c.
THE DAGGER AND THE CROSS—CULBERT G. RUTENBER. Cloth, $1.50.
DIARY OF A SELF-MADE CONVICT—ALFRED HASSLER. Cloth, $1.75
THE NEW TESTAMENT BASIS OF PACIFISM—G. H. C. MACGREGOR. Paper, $1.
NOT AS THE WORLD GIVETH—PHILIPPE VERNIER. Paper, $1.
THERE IS A SPIRIT—KENNETH BOULDING. Cloth, $1.
WITH THE MASTER—PHILIPPE VERNIER. Cloth, $1.50.

RDER FROM:

LLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS • 21 Audubon Avenue • New York 32, N. Y.

WALK TO FREEDOM

If you haven't seen it, ask someone who has.

WALK TO FREEDOM is that kind of motion picture—the kind you want others to see—the kind your friends will tell you not to miss. It doesn't need any ballyhoo. You'll see what we mean when you have seen the film yourself.

RENTAL: one showing, $5; full week, $15. PURCHASE: $100.

For new 1956 catalog of this and other Fellowship Films, drop a postcard to:

FELLOWSHIP FILMS • 21 Audubon Avenue • New York 32, N. Y.

FOURTEEN MONTHS TO CHRISTMAS

"Take your time. Christmas is a long way off. Fourteen months."

"Boy, that's a relief. Hey—wait a minute. This is November. Christmas is next month."

"Well, if you want to celebrate it *this year*—I thought maybe you'd like to take a breather."

"Are you kidding? Christmas is very important to me. Gives me a chance to send greetings to all my friends—a lot of them I don't see very often."

"Sentimental, huh? Don't you know there ain't no Santy Claus?"

"Don't be a square, pal. I mean the real thing. *Christmas*-type Christmas cards. Not Yuletide Greetings. Not Saint Nick. Not Happy Holiday. The real thing."

"You must be living in the past, old man. And you look so young."

"I've got the answer to that. Have you seen the Fellowship Cards?"

"Fellowship cards? Never heard of 'em."

"Never heard? Boy, what desert island have *you* been on? They've got what I'm talking about—the real Christmas thing, with the meaning, you know?"

"All right, you twisted my arm—let's see some. I could be convinced."

"It's pretty late; you better get with it. I'm sending in my order now. I'll tell you where to write if you want samples. But don't wait any fourteen months. Those cards will be all gone."

"I give up. Where do I write?"

FELLOWSHIP CARDS
21 AUDUBON AVENUE
NEW YORK 32, N.Y.